1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

villagers who hold too little land to support their families.[18] Some village men peddle vegetables during the slack agricultural seasons or find some other seasonal work, but there is no real solution to the economic problem. Since Lukang offers few job opportunities for village people, the only alternative is for the village's labor surplus to move on to Taipei to find work. While the move to Taipei for most village men is merely a temporary migration to supplement family income, some establish themselves in the city and move their entire families there. Those who still have a small piece of land in the village area then usually rent it out, or ask someone else to cultivate it for them. The owner thus gains some economic security by retaining title to the land; very few people will sell their land outright.

DIET AND NUTRITION

The Hsin Hsing villager is far from self-sufficient, either for food or other needs. After the harvest the villager consumes his own vegetables, rice, and sweet potatoes, but during the course of the year, he must buy a great part of his staple food. Vegetables, additional rice, pork, fish, salt, tea, sugar, sesame seed oil, peanut oil, lard, and any number of other items are purchased either in Lukang or from itinerant merchants. Additional necessary annual purchases like clothing, tools, and other necessities, almost none of which are produced by the villagers themselves, show how dependent the villager is on the outside world.

The diet of the Hsin Hsing villager, except perhaps for the most poverty-stricken, depends more on occasion than perhaps anything else. The foods eaten at daily mealtimes are usually quite simple and inexpensive, and thrift dominates these ordinary meals. However, on special religious or other festive occasions when it is necessary to feed guests, thrifty regard for the kinds and quantities of food served becomes the least important factor. A villager invites criticism from his fellows if he is not thrifty in his everyday eating and living habits, but the man who exercises thrift on a festive occasion when outside guests are present usually earns the reputation of being "stingy."

An additional determinant of diet is the phase of the agricultural cycle. During the harvest season, for example, it is customary for everyone engaged in the heavy work to eat five meals a day. The meal at the end of the day's work is particularly elaborate and nutritious. A man may also earn himself the reputation of being stingy if, for example, he is frugal with respect to the food he serves his field laborers at harvesttime. Word of his stinginess spreads quickly, and such a farmer may find it difficult to obtain field labor at future harvesttimes. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The villager's diet is greatly affected by factors other than his financial condition or even his own personal likes and dislikes in food. Social pressure is a determining force.

Although the financial condition of the family does play a part in determining the differences in exact details of meals, most villagers' meals are very much alike. Rice is always preferred as the center or focus of each meal. Various items such as dried fish and some steamed, dried, or fresh vegetables may be added to the rice. Pickled items may also be included for variety and flavor.

Many village families, however, because of poverty or, sometimes, for reasons of thrift, substitute sweet potatoes for rice. If fresh, the sweet potatoes are steamed; otherwise, shredded dry sweet potatoes will usually be steamed together with the rice with which they are mixed. Sweet potatoes are much less expensive than rice, since they are grown on the less desirable nonirrigated dry land. Generally speaking, the villagers do not like sweet potatoes, and the adults complain that when children eat sweet potatoes they soon become hungry again and that they have stomach pains. On the other hand, rice is universally enjoyed and is held to be satisfactorily filling.

FOOD AND RITUAL ENTERTAINMENT

The villagers' best opportunities for good eating as well as entertainment come mainly on religious, magical, and other occasions which are usually marked by festivity. These festive occasions are fairly frequent and have widely diverse origins; the religion of the villagers is Taoist, with an admixture of Buddhist and animistic beliefs and, of course, ancestor worship. In addition, the people frequently take part in magical rituals requiring the offices of shamans and various forms of divination in the case of illness, when demons are thought to be involved. Ample food of relatively high quality is served at almost all of these frequently performed religious and magical rituals, especially when outside guests are present. The amounts and kinds of food vary with the occasion. At one of the ordinary *pai-pai* (any ritual in which food or other items are sacrificed to gods or ancestors), which in the Hsin Hsing village area occur at least four times a month and at which there are usually no guests, the additional food may be some cooked pork or fresh fish and soup. This food is used for the ceremonial sacrifices and eaten later. There are elaborate food preparations for larger *pai-pai* dinners such as those for the village god, or at marriage festivals to which outside guests are always invited, or to a lesser degree at dinners for laborers at harvesttime. Sometimes at weddings, funerals, or other such occasions there are as many as eighteen

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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courses, served with wine. Chickens, ducks, and geese are slaughtered, and on some of these occasions the villager will even slaughter one of his pigs to feed his many guests.

Other than these large festive occasions, the simple monthly *pai-pai* are the sole occasions when a family which can afford it may eat more and better food without incurring criticism from neighbors. Therefore, although it may not be necessary to include pork in the minimum sacrifice at the particular ritual, these occasions have become socially sanctioned opportunities for eating better foods than usual. This is one reason why the villagers look forward to and continue to observe even the least important *pai-pai* ceremonies.

At the same time, there is a certain amount of ambivalence among some adults toward the larger *pai-pai*. They realize that they can scarcely afford the high cost of such festive occasions which often saddle them with debts. However, in addition to the pleasurable anticipation with which the villagers look forward to these occasions, social pressure also makes it necessary for each family to take part in these ritual affairs. Each guest who attends such a large dinner is expected to reciprocate and invite his host to some similar occasion in the future.

This kind of socially necessary variation in the eating habits of the Hsin Hsing villagers means that the diet and general nutrition of the villagers is not at all constant in either quantity or quality.

Besides the feasting the ritualistic events occasion, they are the villager's main source of entertainment as well. For in addition to the festive dinners served on such occasions as the village god's birthday, a funeral, or the going-away party for village boys going off to the army, usually there is also entertainment. This may be formal, such as a travelling professional puppet show, or informal, such as drinking and finger games. Such events attract neighbors as well as friends and relatives from surrounding villages. Therefore villagers enjoy these entertaining ritualistic events, not only in their own village, but in neighboring villages with which they have ties of kinship, friendship, and the like.

For entertainment outside their own village or neighboring villages, the people sometimes go to Lukang to see a movie at the local theatre. The movies may be of Chinese, Japanese, or American origin. There are usually two showings a day, one in the original language with Chinese titles and the other with Taiwanese (Min-nan) dubbed in for the convenience of the many illiterate village people.

More often the villagers go to the local Taiwanese opera house in Lukang, where travelling companies perform regularly to large crowds. Although the movies and the opera are relatively inexpensive, villagers do not often indulge in these forms of entertainment. This is mainly because of the amount of time involved in going to Lukang

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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A group of ten laborers works in the field as a unit, usually taking turns at the different tasks. Four laborers will cut the rice while four others collect it and thresh it in the rotary foot-pedal threshing machine. (This machine was introduced by the Japanese in the 1930's, and is now found throughout the area.) The machine is sometimes owned by the land operator but is often either borrowed or rented. While the eight laborers are cutting and threshing, another laborer binds up the threshed rice straw, leaving it in bundles across the field. Still another laborer separates the rice from the straw in the box of the machine and puts the threshed rice into baskets, which are later carried to the farmer's house for drying, winnowing, and storing. The straw bundles are later collected and put in big stacks near the farmer's house. The straw is gradually used for fuel, compost, and animal bedding.

The harvested rice is then used to pay taxes and rent and for fertilizer or for human and animal (fowl) consumption. The surplus may be sold either to an itinerant broker or one in Lukang. The rice which is eaten or sold to brokers is milled locally. One *chia* of land in the first crop produces about 7,000 to 8,000 *chin* of *tsai lai* rice, or about 10,000 *chin* of *p'eng lai* rice. (One *chin* is equivalent to one and one-third pounds.)

However, the landholdings in Hsin Hsing are small, and it is fairly common for more than 50 percent of the village farmers not to realize any cash for the crop. The greater part of the rice crop in general, even in areas with larger landholdings, is used by the farmer to feed his family and to pay various operating expenses. These operating expenses include, beyond labor costs, the payment of taxes, land payments either to the government—if the land was purchased under the Land Reform Acts—or rent to a private landlord, and payment for fertilizer. (The payment of these expenses in kind creates a problem which will be discussed in some detail later in this chapter.)

If the third crop is wheat, it is planted immediately after the second crop, anytime from late October to early or even mid-December. Wheat in Hsin Hsing is harvested from mid-February to mid-March, depending on when it was planted. It is harvested by hand, the plant being pulled up root and all. It is threshed in the same machine used for rice and then completely dried in the sun. Usually, a broker comes to the village soon after the harvest to buy the farmers' wheat. Although the price for a *chin* of wheat is higher than for a *chin* of rice, one *chia* of land can produce less than half the amount of wheat than it can of rice. (One *chia* of land produces about 3,000–4,000 *chin* of wheat.) In the past the crops have often been plagued by a wheat disease, and for this reason many farmers still do not like to grow wheat.

In the Hsin Hsing area sweet potatoes are the principal dry-land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

crop. Sweet potatoes can be grown in either cold or hot weather and on either wet or dry land, although somewhat wet, sandy soil grows the best and largest potatoes. Too much rain during the growing season will ruin the plant. For this crop a seedbed is prepared, and the seedlings are transferred into mounds in a large field, where the potatoes mature until they are harvested. In Hsin Hsing sweet potatoes are grown in two different seasons. The early crop is planted around mid-May and harvested between mid-November and mid-January, the late crop is planted around late October and harvested from mid-January through mid-March.

In the Hsin Hsing village area as in much of rural Taiwan, the sweet potato is a standard part of the diet. And although it is an important food for human consumption, it is probably even more important as a food for animals. A large part of the sweet potato crop is sliced or shredded, dried in the farmer's courtyard by women and children, and then stored for later consumption by humans and livestock. Villagers who harvest a large sweet potato crop on portions of their dry land usually save only part of it for their own future use; they sell the remainder for cash to other farmers in the surrounding area.

In dry-land cultivation two crops, such as the sweet potato and the soybean, are often planted side by side in alternate rows and allowed to mature in this way for the entire growing season. This system of planting is a variation of the *hutze* or interplanting system and is commonly employed for the third crop in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area. The system "involves planting a crop in the field a few weeks before the harvest of the previous crop, [and] makes more intensive use of the land" (Chang, 1954:4). It extends the growing season and also gives the young plants a good start while the weather is still mild. For example, a few weeks before the mature second crop is harvested, the third crop is planted between its rows. This can be done even when the second crop is wet-rice, since water is not needed in the paddy fields in the last few weeks of growth.

Because operating expenses are high, as is the general cost of living today, and because the villagers do not have enough land to till, many find it increasingly difficult to make ends meet by growing only the standard rice crops. In such cases they have two alternatives; they can go to Taipei to work and earn extra income, or they can use their small amount of land in such a way as to obtain the largest possible income from it. The latter alternative is preferred by many who have found the best possible answer in the cultivation of vegetables for market sale.

It is common for farmers cultivating irrigated land to substitute other crops for rice on a portion of their land. Such substitute crops,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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from a village in the area or from Lukang. The price brought by the pig varies according to the market rate. If the farmer takes the pig to the butcher himself, he receives extra payment for his trouble.

When a villager sells his pigs he holds a *pai-pai* to pay homage to the god of the pig house. The worship is held near the pig house and consists of "vegetables and rice" (cut-up meats and fish in a soup), "sacrifices" (a whole fish and a whole piece of meat), incense, and paper imitation money. The food is usually then served to invited village friends and *ch'in tsu*. Since the occasion is not considered really festive, no *ch'in ch'i* from outside the village are invited for the dinner.

There is hardly a village household which does not raise some chickens, ducks, and geese. Few villagers sell either the fowl or the eggs but use both for village festive—usually religious—occasions. These are practically the only times that most village families will eat what they consider such a fine and expensive food as fowl. Of the three, chicken is the most highly prized and is considered the most nutritious and delicious of all meats.

There are farmers in other villages in the area who specialize in raising ducks and chickens. They sell their fowl and eggs to the markets in Lukang or other towns. On rare occasions a Hsin Hsing villager may go to such a farm to buy eggs for some special festival when more eggs are needed than his own flock can supply. Hsin Hsing villagers, like most villagers in the area, do not hatch their own eggs. Itinerant merchants on bicycles come through the villages and sell baby chicks and ducks. Although all fowl roam freely about the village and there are no fences to keep them from straying, if a chicken or duck disappears and is later found dead, the villagers can usually identify their own. They seldom lose a fowl or confuse another farmer's with their own. Some villagers do, however, cut a special mark in the web between the duck's toes or apply a dab of colored paint to their geese.

At night the fowl are usually kept under bamboo cages, since few villagers have anything which resembles a chicken house. The area is plagued by large rats which frequently kill chickens and ducks at night; a villager often loses several birds in one week. Disease also takes its toll of the village stock. The villagers do not know what these diseases are, and they watch helplessly while sometimes as many as a quarter of all the fowl in the village die within two weeks. No veterinarian is called.

Women and girl children care for the household's fowl, which involves little more than feeding them twice a day. Chickens, geese, and ducks are mainly fed white rice and specially grown green vegetables. Geese are fed sweet potatoes as well. The women also slaughter the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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fowl, although some of them, especially young girls, prefer not to kill fowl. When the throat is cut the blood is collected in a bowl of uncooked rice and later made into a kind of soup.

A few villagers also keep some rabbits and goats. Rabbits are used for food on festive occasions and are also sold in the market. Goats are kept in preparation for a marriage, when they, as well as a pig or two, are slaughted, used in the religious ceremonial, and later fed to the guests.

As shown in Table 12, in 1958 there were seventeen water buffalo in Hsin Hsing village. These are kept strictly as work animals and are not considered as food by most of the villagers. This is perhaps related to the feeling built up over the years toward this useful, hardworking, and tame animal. Villagers say that they have no such feeling for pigs, which do nothing all their lives but prepare for the day when they will be eaten, but some of the village women actually become ill at the thought of eating beef. On the other hand, many village men, especially those who have worked or served in the army outside the village area, boast of how they have often eaten beef.

In the village, young boys and sometimes old men take care of the water buffalo when the animal is not working in the field. The young boy is in fact referred to as the "cow boy" and can often be seen riding on the animal's back or leading it along the narrow paths between the fields where the buffalos can graze. In the market town of Chi Hu, five miles southeast of Hsin Hsing, there is a special market where water buffalos are bought and sold on two fixed days each month.

AGRICULTURAL LINKS BEYOND THE VILLAGE

Most crops are not kept in the village very long after they are harvested. The bulk of them is used to pay the farmers' operating expenses or is sold. Some vegetables are preserved for future use as food for the family and for livestock. For example, sweet potatoes, radishes, and cabbages are cut up, dried in the sun, and then stored in sacks. In addition, a small quantity of fresh sweet potatoes is frequently stored in the house, also to be used as food for family and livestock. The potatoes are piled on the floor in the corner of one room of the house. It is common to use a corner of the main room of the house—the *kung t'ing*, the ancestral-worship room—for this purpose. Thus, besides the religious altar in the rear, one frequently finds in this room all kinds of stored valuables such as rice, fertilizer, and some of the farm implements. The rats, which frequently destroy part of the crop while it is growing in the field, also take their toll of the food stored in the house.

Those villagers who grow cash vegetable crops usually market them

[See category 116, p. 59--Analyst]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The birth takes place in the bedroom of the house, usually with little illumination available. Sometimes only one small electric bulb or a kerosene lamp is lit. In labor and during the birth, the woman seems to be relatively quiet, refraining from cries of pain. This may result from the usual stoicism of Chinese women, who are trained to show as little emotion as possible no matter how great the pain. To have other people hear any cries would be embarrassing, and thus cries are avoided.

A woman must not give birth to a child in her natal home. It is believed that such a birth would bring bad luck to her brothers' wives when they give birth and might even result in their being unable to have children. In one case, the married daughter of a Hsin Hsing landlord family did not get on well with her husband's parents. After a number of years of marriage she returned to live in her parents' home while her husband worked in the city and occasionally visited her. When it came time for her to give birth to her third child, she had to leave her brother's home and go to a hospital to have the baby, a most unusual occurrence in the village. She could not give birth in a neighbor's house, of course, since this might damage the birth prospects of the women of that house.

After the birth, according to a custom whose reason and origin are now unknown, the umbilical cord and afterbirth are wrapped in a rag and buried in the river bottom. Anything related to the birth, especially if it has been in contact with the woman's blood, is considered unclean.[1] The very room in which the birth takes place is likewise considered unclean, and anyone who enters the room for a month after the birth cannot then attend a wedding, since this would mean bad luck for the bride.

The baby is fed "sugar water" (sugar boiled in water) immediately after birth and until nursing begins. The baby begins to nurse about the end of the second or third day, when lactation begins.

After the birth, the new mother eats with the family at the next regular meal, and there is no change in her meal schedule. The food she eats, however, is special, and often consists of fresh fish, chicken, wine, and other such "good and rich foods." These are felt to encourage the production of milk and, more important, to help the mother regain her strength. These foods are usually gifts sent during the first month by the new mother's brothers and sisters. Neighbors and friends may also send such gifts, and the household of the new mother gives them "oil rice" (fried glutinous rice) in return.

It is felt that the new mother should do as little work as possible and rest frequently during the first month after the birth. If she belongs to a joint or stem family, this period of rest is virtually assured. If, however, the family is small, she must depend upon help from *ch'in tsu*,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The night before the wedding day, starting at midnight, a *pai-pai* is held at the boy's home. A Taoist priest (*tao shih*) officiates at the ceremony, held in honor of T'ien Kung to thank him for guarding the boy so that he could reach marriageable age, and prayers are said for the future of the boy and his family. At the same time, many lesser gods are invited to the *pai-pai* to be worshipped, and statues of these gods (which may belong to other villagers) are brought to the ancestral-worship room of the boy's home. The village orchestra performs during most of this ceremonial to entertain T'ien Kung. Many expensive foods, including at least one whole dressed pig and goat, bottles of wine, and a good deal of paper money are offered in honor of the gods and their soldiers and horses. (A description of the Taoist pantheon is found in Chapter 8.)

The *tao shih* invites the gods to partake of the sacrifices and transmits to them the prayers of the family. In the course of the ritual the *tao shih* and the participating members of the family, including the groom and his father and brothers, simulate trips to heaven and to the underworld to communicate with the gods. A shaman, known as *t'iao t'ung* (his broader functions are also described in detail in Chapter 8), accompanies them on these "trips." He is possessed by a local, less powerful, and important god known as an ambassador god and thus acts as the intermediary between the family and the higher gods. "After all," queried a villager on this point, "can a common man go directly on his own to see and talk with an emperor?"

Much of the food offered at the *pai-pai* is sent the next day as gifts to the girl's family; during the next several days it is fed to the guests who attend the wedding festival as well as the many people, usually *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers, who help in the preparations and entertainment of the guests at the girl's village. The cost to both sets of parents is very great, and the poorest families save for a long time or borrow money in order to have a proper wedding festival.

While the boy's family is holding the *pai-pai* on the night before the marriage, the girl's family is busy with preparations for the next day. When the marriage broker, accompanied by the carriers bearing more gifts, and the village orchestra arrive, they are fed in the girl's village. Then, they help the girl's family load the many carts with her dowry and the sweet cakes which accompany the bride when she goes to the groom's village in her sedan chair.

The vehicles which carry the gifts to the bride's family and take the dowry back to the groom's village are either rented wheeled carts drawn by men hired in Lukang or trays carried on poles by the groom's *ch'in tsu* and/or fellow villagers. Only a wealthy family can afford to use the many hand-carried trays, since all the carriers must be fed banquet food and those who carry heavy items are given *hung pao* (money wrapped in a red paper packet). Far fewer wheeled carts are

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ADULTHOOD

Marriage does not affect substantially the customary daily routine of a young man, for as a new husband he continues to spend as much of his free time with his friends as he did before his marriage and almost never allows himself to be seen publicly with his wife. (This would be embarrassing both to himself and his wife, since people would say they must be in love and laugh at them.) The boy does not usually achieve higher status nor assume many more responsibilities upon his marriage. In general, he continues to function under the authority of his father, unless a family division takes place. Many older villagers point out that the boy does not become an adult by virtue of his marriage.

Usually, it is not until the birth of the first child, and perhaps even a division of the joint or stem family, that the boy begins to settle down. He then achieves more status in both his family and the village; he feels a resonsibility for his family and ceases to spend all his spare time with his friends. He also begins to voice strong opinions about the running of the household. There are exceptional boys who, even before marriage, assume a great deal of responsibility and spend little time with their friends. Once married, such boys become even more responsible.

Unlike her husband, the bride is immediately saddled with work and various responsibilities and has even less time for recreation than she had before. Like her husband she gains little increase in status from her marriage. For her, adult status is not achieved until she has established her position in the family by bearing a child, preferably a male child. Until then she is not really part of the family.[4] The villagers tell a story of a girl whose family did not send an adequate dowry with her when she married. Her husband's family was dissatisfied, and eventually she was sent home. However, when the boy's family realized that she was pregnant, she was immediately brought back and made welcome in their house. Real status and authority are achieved by a daughter-in-law when she finally assumes the role of the wife of the head of the family upon family division or the death or retirement of her mother-in-law. It is thus easy to understand why daughters-in-law often agitate for family division.

An adult male's leisure is usually determined by the agricultural season. However, even during the harvest, when people are busiest, there is seldom rushed or harried activity. Since men can do their work only during the day, the evening is a time for relaxation during both the busy and the slack seasons. Many men spend their free time visiting each other at home or at the village store where one can buy a stick of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ceremony and, especially, to obtain the god of the earth's permission to break the earth and to ask him to accept the body. Once the burial is completed, all return to the village where an elaborate dinner is held for all those who participated in any stage of the funeral.

Several weeks after the burial, on a date set by a geomancer, the members of the mourning family reconvene at the cemetery to dedicate the tombstone. They again wear white mourning clothes, and a ritual is conducted by the same geomancer-shaman.

Mourning

After a death, the descendants usually observe heavy mourning for forty-nine days (seven weeks). During this period they worship the spirit of the deceased twice each day, at sunrise and sunset, coming together to wail and chant as they did on the day of the funeral.

On the hundredth day after the death, or sometimes after one year, another mourning ritual is held. On this day it is common to burn the temporary paper ancestral tablet and transfer the dead person's name and death day to the family's permanent wooden ancestral tablet. Until very recently, the name was placed on a small permanent wooden tablet instead of on the temporary paper one, which made it unnecessary to transfer the name to the main family tablet. It is also on the hundredth day that the mourning family sends sweet cakes to everyone who sent money or gifts at the time of the death. The sweet cakes are a symbolic message "that things are now better."

For three years after the death, patrilineal descendants of the deceased are supposed to wear the lengths of colored yarn to show they are mourning. At the end of this period, they usually wear red yarn for a few days just to show that things are now good again. Actually, in the village the colored mourning yarn is most frequently worn for only a year. It is also customary during this three-year mourning period for the women to wail at the grave when the family goes to the cemetery each Ch'ing Ming Chieh (a holiday early in April) to clean the graves and offer sacrifices.

If in the years following a death the family has not been able to produce a boy child or has been in financial difficulties or poor health, they may have the grave dug up and the coffin moved to a new and more propitious spot determined by a geomancer. This takes place at least three years, but usually more than ten years, after the death. Specialists from Lukang or from some other village are hired for such an occasion. These men, in the presence of the closest relatives of the deceased, pick out each bone, clean it, and attach it in a special order to a short charcoal pole which is placed in a tall ceramic pot. The pot is then reburied in the new grave and a new tombstone, engraved with the date of reburial, is set up.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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them to resort to ritual means. Neither their own nor their neighbor's consciences would allow them to let a member of the family die without the attempt to benefit from supernatural intervention.

It was probably these two factors, social pressure and fear of leaving any method untried, which opened the way for the very notable acceptance of Western medicine in Taiwan. While the skeptic is thus forced by them to call upon the shaman, the traditionalists are likewise forced to call upon Western medicine when traditional methods have failed. As we saw in the case of the baby girl who died, the village did not feel that calling even upon two shamans was a clear indication that the family wanted the child to live; it was strongly felt that a Western doctor should have been called in as well. The general disapproval is not simply an example of the increased faith in Western medicine, but a reflection of a total attitude toward the control of unknown and powerful forces. After all, the microbe theory of illness is often, even in the enlightened West, only another species of demonology.

Many of the functions of the magical rituals we have just discussed are also similar for the religious (*pai-pai*) rites. People look forward to the many *pai-pai* held in the village area. At the very least they offer a change in the daily routine of life. Many of them are occasions filled with thrills and excitement (*je nao*). This is particularly true of shamanistic rituals, and scores of villagers may flock to the scene of the performance. Young boys and men who have worked in Taipei and who, for various reasons, have been forced to return to the village almost always attend such events. These men seem to yearn for something to replace the excitement of the city.

Since community pressures for thrift also have tended to standardize the villagers' diet, even the most insignificant *pai-pai* represents an opportunity to eat better than ordinary food. A village family, unless wealthy, is criticized for eating any but the simplest food on ordinary days. People gossip behind their backs about their extravagance and general lack of thrift. Then, if the family should have to borrow money or need village aid at a future date, people may cite their extravagance and irresponsibility as a reason for refusing them. Thus, even the simplest *pai-pai*, like those held on the first, second, fifteenth, and sixteenth of each month, offer people a welcome justification for eating good food, and the bigger the *pai-pai*, the better the food.

The most obvious functions of the *pai-pai* are often recognized by the villagers themselves. There are several other important functions that the villagers may not talk about unless they are questioned about them.

Although in the process of organizing and administering *pai-pai*

of the five lún, while the Shang Ti Kung stands for the unity of all of Chichou.

The fifteen minute walk from the train station in Hsulin to the village of Hsiachichou takes one through the main business street of the market town. Here under the arcades which edge the street are a variety of small stores and shops which cater to the material and spiritual needs of the surrounding villages. There is a small shop selling ice and a variety of cold drinks, a western style drug store advertising everything from aspirin to penicillin, next door to this a traditional Chinese drug store famous for its cures for consumption, the tiny office of a local doctor trained in Japan, a dry goods store specializing in ready made western clothing, a tailor who scorns western clothing, a coffin shop sweet with the cool smell of camphor, a small two story hotel which also functions as a brothel, several food stores pungent with the odors of garlic and salted cabbage, a photography shop displaying pictures of Japanese and American movie stars, a pool hall where young village men come to play billiards at night, a variety store selling mostly children's copybooks and writing materials, a dusty mill full of sacks of grain, two family shops making noodles for local restaurants, a fortune teller's stall run by a man disabled in the Second World War, a three or four room hospital which serves as a prison for the violently insane, and at the end of the street a Tu Ti Kung Temple supported by the local businessmen and their families. To know this street is to know a great deal about the life of the local population.

182 59 181 family's giving serious consideration to many socially acceptable alternatives.

511 [181] [182] [421] The most obvious reason for this concern with social continuity and the reason which is most easily stated by the villagers themselves, is economic security. The village of Hsiachichou is not impoverished, [242] but neither is it affluent. The line between the rich and the poor separates those who eat rice at a meal and those who must mix their rice with sweet potato. As the villagers themselves would put it, "Everyone here has something to eat, but no one can afford to eat out [483] of the middle of the pan." With the exception of those families who have the advantages of neither land nor education, and who are as a result forced to earn a living as coolies or coal miners, the people of Hsiachichou are able to support themselves fairly comfortably. [342] [201] The majority of village houses are constructed of brick with sturdy tile roofs; many village families own a radio or phonograph; a number [216] of families have their own water supply in the house and one has installed an electric pump; and all but the very poorest of village families own at least one bicycle, adequate if not comfortable furniture, and are able to meet their social obligations with appropriate gifts [454] and invitations. What the average family in Hsiachichou does not have is the financial ability to accumulate savings. Their income is adequate to feed, clothe, and house themselves in a reasonably comfortable manner, but there is no surplus out of which a family can create a [426] reserve. When faced with a major expenditure occasioned by a serious illness, a marriage, the funeral of a senior member, or the need to

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Since much of its growth took place during the fifty-odd years of Japanese administration, Taipei is weighted down with ugly though solid Japanese colonial architecture, studious imitations of public buildings in the British colonies. Current shoddy attempts at sinification make them even less attractive. In some of the more expensive residential neighborhoods there are still beautiful examples of Japanese domestic architecture hidden behind high brick walls. These residential streets, many of them unpaved and all bordered by open sewer ditches, are peaceful, the quiet disturbed only by an occasional car, a squeaking pedi-cab, and the varied, melodic calls of passing peddlers, knife-sharpeners, and shoe-repairers. At night the soft clack-clack of the blind masseur's bamboo rattle is as natural as a bird's song.

The streets in the business section of the city are anything but peaceful. The great clattering, rattling buses seem to have no springs and no speed limits; automobiles, mainly in the form of taxis or military jeeps, use horns more frequently than brakes. Sidewalks and roadways alike are clogged with bicycles, pedi-cabs, and pedestrians who reverse direction, cut across traffic, or come to a complete halt without warning or apparent reason. Cartloads of bricks and logs drawn by sweating, straining men or ambling yellow oxen use the same lanes as buses hurtling forward at forty miles an hour.

Beyond the hustling downtown districts that sell the essential luxuries to the wealthy are the Taiwanese sections of the city, areas of commerce and residence, often combined, that seem both flimsy and timeless. There is architecture here too, but it would take a coldly disciplined observer to look above the busy life in the shops and the streets to evaluate the style of the buildings. Here is the real texture of a Chinese city. There is poverty, but not the thin, sour smell of poverty in American cities. Tiny shops sell cheap, shoddy cotton goods, coarse household basketry, and thin metal pots and pans. The owners' wives squat in front, fanning portable stoves of clay and coal dust, cooking the evening meal of vegetables and pork fat or, depending upon the day's business, only vegetables. Customers step over and around the children sleeping or playing amid the merchandise and on the sidewalks; they bargain with the shopkeeper's wife while the baby tied on her back sleeps peacefully through their rising and falling voices. Few cars attempt the narrow lanes but pedi-cabs and bicycles thread in and around the pedestrians with a grace and speed that often ends in a squealing of brakes and shouted oaths. In the few arcades or

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The City and the Market Town

In the few arcades streets closed to automobiles in the United States and England, one is conscious of the sound of feet on concrete, but in Taipei, even though the wooden clogs of the poor make much more noise than Western leather, one is conscious of voices. Children cry, women gossip, storekeepers greet friends and customers, peddlers inform passers-by of the quality and freshness of their wares, pedi-cab drivers shout warnings to pedestrians about to step in front of them, neighbors discuss the bargains they've found, and not infrequently family quarrels are presented for the world to judge. Winter or summer, day or night, there is always the smell of smoke—coal smoke, charcoal smoke, fuel oil. Often it is delicately embroidered with a thread of incense coming from a family altar in the back of a store or from a small temple tucked down a side alley. The air is heavy with smells, not just smoke, but the oily smells of cooking, the salty smell of drying fish, the sharp tang of pickled vegetables, the elegant smell of sandalwood being fashioned into boxes and furnishings for the rich, and always somewhere in every neighborhood the smell of the "honey-wagon," a slow moving tank cart that goes from house to house to collect "night-soil."

In 1957 my husband and I arrived in Taipei and spent the better part of a year there, studying Mandarin. The following year, the majority of which I was forced to spend in the United States because of the illnesses of my parents, my husband searched the island for a suitable village in which to carry out the anthropological field project that had brought him to Taiwan. I returned not to the noisy, jostling city but to a small, quiet village on the banks of the Tamsui River. In its way of life, Peihotien was far from Taipei; in miles, the distance was not great. With luck and a feeling of urgency, the trip from the Taipei train station to our doorstep could be made in an hour, half by train and half by foot. The train rumbled through Taipei suburbs, a small city, a couple of small market towns, and much open paddy land before it dropped us in the market town of Tapu. Tapu is the buying, selling, repairing, and general servicing town for a number of villages, including the one in which I was to live.

The Tapu train station opens onto a little square; the square in turn opens onto the main street of the town. I have never seen the square completely empty, not even in the heavy rains that break the heat of summer afternoons. There is a man who sells hot noodles from a little cart, another with fresh fruit, another with newspapers and gaudy magazines.

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cans salvaged from the garbage dumps of American military installations. In the next store a pall of dust hangs on everything. This is a small coal-kerosene-rice store, and the debris from the hand-operated rice polishing mill makes everything, even the black coal, a shade lighter. Toward the back there are baskets of charcoal and bundles of neatly cut twigs and branches, carefully graded and tied. Against the back wall are stacked bottles of wine and beer, their necks entwined with cheap handmade rope. The piquant, not quite fresh smell in the air comes from next door, the store we called the pickle shop for want of a better name. Huge jars of pickles—pickled cabbage, pickled raddishes, pickled eggplants, even pickled eggs—fill the front of the store, the more expensive delicacies displayed in glass jars, the more routine in heavy, waist-high earthenware crocks. Only a few are preserved in vinegar. Most are salted and allowed to season for several months, or dried in the hot, baking summer sun, or soaked in soy sauce, herbs, or wine. The unlighted rear of the store is brightened somewhat by the gaudy labels on a few shelves of canned foods. They are expensive, not as tasty as the local product, and often dangerous with age and contamination. Nearer the front are the precious tins of powdered milk, a mother's only solution to a dry breast in this damp climate where dairy cows quickly succumb to tuberculosis.

The heart of the town, or at least the source of the greatest commotion each forenoon, is the roofed food market. The market would be difficult to locate were it not for the overflow of shoppers and farmers. The entrance is little more than a narrow alley between two store-fronts, an alley made even narrower by the half dozen farmers squatting there amid their baskets of produce. These are men who can't afford to rent stalls under the protection of the roof or farmers who happen that day to have some surplus vegetables or a sudden shortage of cash. Just a few steps down the alley is the open market shed itself and what seems to be a disorganized profusion of produce heaped on trays, piled in baskets, spread on tables, or simply stacked on the bare packed earth: fresh onions, cucumbers, garlic, an infinite variety of melons and squash, eggplants, bamboo shoots, and occasionally fresh mushrooms brought in by some enterprising merchant with Taipei contacts. Scattered between and on top of the vegetables are bananas, papayas, pineapples, guavas, and a few precious apples imported from Japan. Adding a sinister note to the confusion of produce are the meatstalls with carcasses of pigs hanging on huge hooks,

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great hunks of snowy fat (the poor man's meat), buckets of blood and entrails. The fish stalls, less gory and less colorful, abound with local river fish and a few ocean fish brought in on the early train, some swimming in buckets, others gutted but missing no eyes—a great delicacy, or tails—a matter of aesthetics. And everywhere there are chickens, ducks, geese, both live and dead. The smells to a foreign nose are sometimes exhilirating, sometimes appalling; the sounds are bewildering. The day's fowl quack, cluck, and honk their distress; above their protest the voices of customers and merchants rise and fall. The din of heated bargaining blends a variety of languages. The farmers speak either Hokkien or Hakka, the native Chinese dialects of the island; a few merchants and their friends converse in Japanese; policemen and soldiers prefer Mandarin, the official language.

Away from the uproar of the market, Tapu's streets seem relatively calm. The paved main street ends at the canal, an irrigation ditch civilized by concrete banks for its passage through town. In several places, steps that lead into the canal end in small platforms where the storekeepers' wives and daughters can do their laundry while keeping an eye on the store. There are more shops on both sides of the canal: a small bookstore, a tailor, a fabric and ready-made clothing store, a photographer, and a paper store that supplies school children with copy books and pencils, and adults with the paraphernalia of worship—metal wires dipped in incense and bundles of spirit money burned to provide for the deceased. One of my favorite shops is that of the *beidz*-maker who fills the air with a lively rhythmic chwing-chwing sound as he fluffs cotton into puffy battings for warm winter comforters. A little farther down the street a noodle-maker is usually at work. He suspends strips of dough between pegged poles which he gradually moves farther and farther apart as the noodles stretch and dry. Just beyond the noodle-maker is a small, paved square, formed where the canal goes underground. This is the site of a shrine dedicated to Tu Ti Kung, the lowest ranking god in the Chinese supernatural bureaucracy. Tu Ti Kung serves his celestial superiors as the official recorder of the activities of the living. In the country, he is the guardian of the land and the god of agriculture; in the town, he is considered a patron of business and a god of wealth. The responsibility for burning incense at his shrine each morning rotates among the families residing in his district.

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because they were afraid it was dangerous, but Old Tan wouldn't let them because he thinks it's his son."

The children have heard this story many times but it no more prevents them from spending long afternoons playing under the tree than the ghost in the pig pen prevents them from hiding there when their mothers are searching for them.

For the children, the women, and a good many of the men, the significant dimensions of the world are the thirty-five or forty brick buildings of Peihotien. With the dramatic increase in population on Taiwan, one corner of a neighboring village now lies just across a paddy field from Peihotien. Yet a woman in search of a moment's chat or a few slices of ginger would rather walk further, within the boundaries of Peihotien, than step across the paddy field to the nearby village. The children of the neighboring villages all go to the same school, but their after-school play groups are composed of village mates—even if they must fill out a team with underaged siblings. A farmer's small plots of land may be scattered among those of farmers from several villages, but in the evening when he is puzzling out a new directory from the Farmer's Association or worrying about the market prices, he does it with the men of Peihotien who may work fields a mile in the opposite direction from his own.

There are several places in the village where groups of adults may be found gossiping or working together at various times of the day. On warm summer evenings the men often fill their rice bowls and retire to the doorstep to eat and chat with a neighbor similarly occupied. A group of families usually share a well and hand pump, and two or three women are there at almost any hour washing out a few clothes not worth carrying all the way to the river, rinsing off a dirty child, or preparing vegetables for the evening meal. The women who live near the irrigation ditch that skirts one edge of the village often gather by the little bridge to clean out a clumsy kettle or rinse out some diapers. A concrete platform on one side of the bridge makes it a popular cooling-off place for children who do not dare go into the river and aren't allowed to play in the precious well water.

For adults the most frequent informal gatherings occur in the three shops of the village. Two of the shops are so small that it takes a practiced eye to identify them. On the square behind the house in which we lived, a family sells cigarettes, matches, a few candies, toilet paper, and similar small items. Here, probably because the family

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Leading from both sides of the guest hall are hallways along which the bedrooms are located. Reflecting the principles of seniority found in the ancestral tablets, the members of the family are assigned sleeping rooms according to their status in the family. The head of the family takes the rooms to the right of the ancestors; his younger brother or married sons, the rooms to the left. An old grandmother usually shares a bed with her grandchildren, enjoying with the warmth of their young bodies the satisfaction that she has by her own efforts produced at least two more generations for the family. Some sleeping rooms in Peihotien are furnished with the traditional carved and canopied wooden beds, massive and often ugly; others contain only Japanese *tatami* sleeping platforms. The platforms have many advantages, particularly for families with numerous children, since their capacity is practically unlimited. They are also considerably cooler during the stifling summer nights when the old-fashioned, box-like beds become as hot as ovens.

The kitchen is usually located at one end of the rectangle, although some families house it in a shed at the back of the basic structure. Wherever it is, the central feature of the room is the large, square brick stove. Few families have the luxury of a room set aside for dining and are content to take their meals in one corner of the kitchen. If the room is too small, or if the family tends toward elegant living, they eat in the guest hall. Family meals are considerably less formal than Western meals. If the night is hot, a man fills his bowl with rice, tops it with whatever relish or vegetable his wife has provided, and then squats in the cool breeze of the doorway. His wife seldom sits at the table, eating her rice as best she can while supervising the children and watching the soup. The older children may follow their father's example and wander off into the yard, skillfully managing the rice bowl and chopsticks while watching a game of hopscotch. In large families this is the only way the meals can be managed, since it would be impossible for them all to sit down at once. The Chinese custom of feeding the men first is acknowledged but difficult to practice when the men's hours are determined by different occupations. More commonly the food is simply put on the table and whoever is there eats—at the table, if he likes, or on the back stoop, if he prefers.

When a man builds a house, his fondest dream is that within his lifetime one or even both of the wings will be added to the original rectangle to house his sons and married grandsons. In the ideal Taiwanese family several generations of fathers and sons live with

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precarious living as a tenant farmer and that Lim Han-ci spent a large part of his adult life working the same land as a tenant. Even as a young man he had a reputation as a tireless worker, and when he married and began having children, anecdotes about his unceasing labor multiplied. One of his former neighbors told me that even during the New Year celebrations when everyone else in the village was gambling or visiting friends, Lim Han-ci was weeding his sweet potatoes. Several people insist that this is how he got his personal name, Han-ci or Sweet Potato, but this is doubtful. Parents commonly give their sons deprecatory nicknames such as Small Snake, or Thin Dog, hoping by this display of scorn to make their most valued possession less attractive to malicious ghosts. In Lim Han-ci's day, sweet potatoes were the food of the poor.

Whether or not Lim Han-ci's sweet potatoes are relevant to his personal name, his reputation for hard work was second to none. His son, Lim Chieng-cua, verified this: "My father was a man who worked hard for his family. He didn't smoke and he didn't drink, and he could do two and a half times more work in a day than an ordinary man. Sometimes during the planting season he slept only two or three hours a night. Even as an old man he wouldn't rest, and when we begged him to rest he would say, 'When I cannot work, I will die.'"

Every tenant farmer on Taiwan works hard just to earn enough food for his family, and he who works harder than others is not necessarily going to benefit more. In Lim Han-ci's youth, tenant farmers had little chance of saving money and still less of saving enough to buy their own land. The most they could hope for was that their sons or their sons' sons would get an education or a start in a small business. Lim Han-ci, however, combined with his energy a stubborn intelligence and a fierce pride. In one way or another he saved enough money to buy several small pieces of land. The few catties of rice that were now his instead of the landlord's did not appreciably alter Han-ci's own standard of living, and yet they represented an enormous achievement. He had done something few of his neighbors could accomplish, and he had made a permanent contribution to the welfare of his family. A peasant farmer does not think in terms of his own welfare and that of his immediate family; he calculates his accomplishments in terms of their benefits to all of his descendants. Lim Han-ci's little land would not produce many catties of rice in his own

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spending money. Where does this money come from? Does it fall out of the sky?

"When it is my aunt's turn to cook, my mother is always around and she helps her with this and that. When it is my wife's turn to cook, my aunt runs far away and she never helps. She lets her children sit and cry rather than get caught near the work. My wife is slower than the others. Shouldn't Lim Chui-ieng be there to help her a little? Feeding the pigs is a good example. My aunt has never once chopped up the sweet potato leaves for pig food. We don't have many pigs to feed now, but we used to have over thirty. They ate a cartload of sweet potato leaves every day. My mother was so busy chopping that food up and cooking it that she didn't have time to turn around. My aunt never once helped her. Mother isn't as healthy as she used to be. How can she stand to go on working so hard all day long. Yet my uncle says the reason she won't raise pigs anymore is because she doesn't want to bother feeding them. The real reason she wants to quit is this. The last time we sold pigs they should have brought in about NT$8,000, but instead we got only NT$5,000 because we owed the butcher NT$3,000. My uncle was buying pork from him every day. If he bought it for everyone, we wouldn't have anything to say about it, but he doesn't. He buys only the leanest pieces and then they cook it with medicine and he and his family eat the whole lot of it. When he comes back from market, his wife takes the meat and hides it under that new bucket in the washroom. My younger brother has seen them do this too. One day just for fun I yelled to Masa, 'Hurry up and get the new bucket and wash it so we can mix insecticide in it.' My aunt took off at a run to get that meat moved. I didn't really want the bucket, I just wanted to see what she'd do. Masa laughed so hard he had to lie down on the ground."

I asked him if it weren't true that Lim Chui-ieng was not very healthy. She often takes medicines of various kinds. He didn't think so. "Huh! She is just pretending to be sick. Who doesn't know how to do that. If she is not healthy, then no one is healthy. If you have the money, who wouldn't eat tonic [a term for describing meat cooked in wine and rich herbs believed to generally strengthen the body]."

Growing somewhat bolder, I asked A-bok if he found it difficult to get money from his uncle for his personal needs. He answered bluntly, "We don't need to discuss that." After a few minutes, however, he did. "It is this way. When you give him money he is all

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perous family puts on a show little better than the poorest village family on religious feast days. Even our assistants felt that the Lims did not live up to the standards expected of them in this regard. "If my mother hadn't raised some turkeys," he continued, "my wife wouldn't even have been able to have the chicken broth when my daughter was born. [This refers to a strongly held belief that a mother must have chicken and chicken broth at least three times a day in the first few days following childbirth.]

"What does this family look like? Who can see it most clearly? I think my grandfather could see it clearest even then. We should have taken some chicken cooked in wine to my wife's family home when my son was a month old. That is the custom—he was the first born and a male besides. We do this to announce our happiness. Uncle was in charge of the money then, and he didn't say a word about it, so my grandfather took his own money and sent someone to Tapu to buy the things for him. The people from my wife's family sent many things back and my grandfather made a special point of showing these things to Uncle. Uncle didn't pay any attention to this. Evidently that made Grandfather very angry and one of our friends came to visit him and found him like that. He said, 'It isn't as though A-bok doesn't work for our family. How can we treat him like this? No matter how poor this family may have become, we are not so poor that we are going to starve to death. It is only because A-bok's father is dead that he has to depend on us to do these things for him. If his father was alive, you can imagine how finely these things would be done!' I didn't know about this until after the friend came and told me. He said my grandfather talked and talked, and all the time the tears rolled down his face. The friend was very worried about my grandfather. He had never cried in his life.

"It was my grandfather who started the factory, not my uncle. When they couldn't make wine in it anymore, it just sat there empty and someone came and asked Grandfather if they could rent it to make paper bags. Grandfather said they could rent it if they would take him in as a partner. This is the way it got started. It wasn't my uncle's doing. My uncle should be teaching the younger generation how to run the factory, but he won't. I think he is afraid to let me or Masa know what goes on there. He thinks that if he doesn't let me know anything about how to run the business, he can take it later without any worries." This was the first time A-bok admitted in my

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husband is considerably older than she, which is not particularly unusual, and he seems blessed with no more sense or responsibility than his wife. He has worked in the gardens of American military and embassy families on occasion, but now that the early days of gross overpayment are finished, he is resentful of the wages he is paid (usually about twice what any Chinese would consider paying). He never has a steady job and makes little effort in that direction, but when he does find something that pays well, the family lives high. I overheard the following conversation between Lim Chui-ieng and Tan A-hong about their mutual relative when they found out that Mui-mue's husband had found a profitable job.

A-hong: "He has already made over NT$3,000 and now they have set him to planting trees at the flour mill in Tapu. He is getting paid ten dollars a tree! But, neither of them think of paying back the money they owe. They just buy new clothes, and more food than a family twice their size could eat, and Mui-mue gambles every day."

Lim Chui-ieng: "I never could do the way she does. She only thinks about borrowing the money and never about the next time she may need to borrow. Every time you ask them to pay you back, they say they will pay you as soon as they get some money. It's only her mouth that says this though, it never gets into her head."

A-hong: "That's right. We always worry when we owe people money, but those two! The husband and wife are just the same! A-bok has seen him come home several times with a big basket of peaches. I would never dare buy peaches."

Lim Chui-ieng: "My children don't even know what a peach tastes like."

A-hong: "Mui-mue doesn't understand anything at all about *cue lang* [obligations to people]. Like that time when her son was so sick and they didn't have enough money to take the child to a doctor. My daughter gave her some rings to pawn, but instead she took them around to different people and borrowed money from them all. When Chun-ieng found out about it, she had to go around and pay all the people. Mui-mue never did pay Chun-ieng the money. If she understood about *cue lang*, she would always be grateful to my Chun-ieng because her child would be dead now if it weren't for her. Instead, she doesn't even pay her back the money."

The two women continued discussing Iu Mui-mue's various strategies for obtaining money, Lim Chui-ieng admitting that even she had

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but he rarely takes the lead and never seems to expect it. He is content to think up new variations on old games and let the others carry them out. Thiam-hok often sits alone daydreaming or perhaps thinking. I have seen this kind of behavior in other village children, children suffering from the debilitation of frequent illness and inadequate diet, but with Thiam-hok one senses activity behind his withdrawn face. Several times I have come upon him hiding in a quiet corner, hunched over a piece of paper. Before he could conceal it, I saw that he was sketching with a stubby pencil and sketching with a certain amount of talent. My sincere praise did nothing to lessen his embarrassment—I had stumbled into what he evidently considered a secret, sinful pleasure. I later heard his siblings and even his mother teasing him about his pictures, but he did not abandon the activity. He only became more circumspect. To the initial amusement of his parents, he announced at the age of eight that he would no longer eat any form of meat, including vegetables fried in pig fat, a Taiwanese family's most common source of animal protein. He wished to live the life of a Buddhist. Lim Chui-ieng humored him for a few weeks, but when it became clear that he was serious, she forced him to return to normal eating habits for fear of damage to his already delicate constitution. He finally submitted, although he vowed to return to the stern discipline of Buddhism when he was fully grown. In determination he is definitely a Lim, but in him, the family character is taking a curious twist.

Lim Chieng-cua's fourth child and third son is my favorite. Even the most persistent teasing of his elder siblings fails to ruffle Kui-hok's good humor. He has none of Thaim-hok's dreaminess but his face nearly always has a shy smile on it. He was not yet in school when I lived with his family, so I saw a good deal of him. He came to our office nearly every day to collect curly pencil shavings which he distributed to all of his friends. Although he is not beyond the usual teasing of younger siblings, he always gives in when they show signs of tears and leaves if they begin to vent their rage on him. Either his emotions burn with a cooler flame or he has already found a method for controlling them. One day when I was walking along a path I found him energetically slashing the tops off some long grass with a toy wooden sword. I asked conversationally what he was doing and he said, "Cutting off heads." I fumbled linguistically and quite by accident blurted out, "Whose?" He promptly gave me the name of Lim A-

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neighbors found excuses to stop in the family kitchen to catch up on the latest details. As Masa scornfully commented, "If two ants had a fight, everyone in this village would know about it an hour later." A doctor came to give Chui-ieng an injection of penicillin, the local medical people's prescription for all manner of ills, and, of course, there was a large delegation of Chui-ieng's relatives, including her foster father, her sister, one of her foster father's brothers, and several other people whom I could not identify. Except for her mother, who probably would have agreed to take her daughter home, these people were primarily concerned to see that the quarrel reached an amicable settlement. The mistress of ceremonies in all these proceedings was Ng Kui-lian. With her stick and old-fashioned hand warmer, she bobbled about the house with surprising speed for a woman whose feet have been bound for 80 years. She scolded, cajoled, sympathized, threatened, and within a few hours settled the matter, not amicably perhaps, but inevitably. I do not know all she said to Chui-ieng except that she assured her that if her husband ever hit her again, she herself would beat him up, but I was present when she made Lim Chieng-cua promise that he would not beat his wife again and that he would not beat his daughter when she came home. When she approached him, he was talking to two women from Tapu who had the misfortune that day to come to visit Chui-ieng about the affairs of some distant relative. The presence of these two strangers did not inhibit Ng Kui-lian in the least. In fact, she seemed to take advantage of their presence as a means of putting the whole situation on record with unprejudiced outsiders, repeating for them the whole history of the quarrel. She was particularly explicit in enumerating the cuts Lim Chieng-cua had inflicted and the extent to which his wife's face and body were bruised. Even Lim Chieng-cua's sophistication could not withstand the sharp, clinical tongue of Ng Kui-lian. He was writhing with embarrassment, glancing several times toward me as if to say, "How can you argue with an eighty-five-year-old woman?" His only defense was one brief comment. "She knows I have a bad temper and she knows that this subject makes me angry. She brings it up anyway." The next day Lim Chieng-cua made a special trip to Tapu to buy his wife some soft rice cakes. She was having difficulty chewing. When he returned, he took them into her himself, finally breaking his silence with a comment which was probably meant to be sympathetic. "You have bad luck, woman."

744 plain water, few boil it the full ten minutes. There is no question about what is proper but people just do not want to take the time or trouble and a few say that it would cost too much for the fuel to boil all drinking water a full ten minutes. Similarly, mosquito nets are not kept in good repair although infected bites are common.

356 Houses are quite messy and dirty. People will clean them as required to pass government inspection, but grudgingly. There are two values operating against cleanliness. A cluttered house is a sign of wealth or economic
356 wellbeing. Also, a baby god is thought to hide somewhere
843 in the room of a pregnant woman during the period from
776 conception to birth. Disturbing his resting place may have serious detrimental effects on the baby. Since a woman is not likely to know the moment she becomes pregnant, the bedrooms are often neglected in cleaning. The fastidious Japanese also worked hard in Talei Li at promoting clean houses with little success.

[199]

262 Food handling techniques are comparatively good.
251 No raw foods other than fruits with a thick skin such as
744 citrus or bananas are consumed. Almost every family now covers left-over foods with a round wooden basket with a screened top to keep out insects in accordance with suggestions of the farmers' association and government health agents. This is a new practice instituted during the last

251 eight years. Although farmers have been relatively willing to accept the recommendations of agricultural experts, the government agents and farmers' association officials concerned with sanitation have had more success with women than men. Male and female agents in the farmers' association in Hsin Tien both agree that unless the woman is persuaded, few changes will be made in the kitchen. The officials and villagers alike claimed that no matter what a man said, a woman ran the kitchen as she pleased. Most food is eaten the day it is acquired and pork especially, is never kept overnight. This custom requires daily marketing.

164 Colds and flu are very common in winter. Almost everyone has periodic intestinal disorders and skin infections are endemic. Foot and hand infections are occasionally very severe. Working in the paddy fields with their load of human excreta in solution is particularly dangerous with open cuts. Injuries such as broken bones are most common among children and men who work in the local coal mines.

759 Treatment of disease and injury may involve many distinct techniques. There are a great variety of professional medical practitioners such as Western-style doctors, traditional Chinese doctors, various folk specialties such as acupuncture, different shamans, and temple priests who furnish charms to drink. Most professionals are males but midwives are invariably females.

757 a variety of different traditional and modern medicines hanging on the walls in houses. People use what they desire and when the salesman returns he replaces missing items and charges for them although there is no charge if none have been used. Different salesmen provide different combinations of drugs. There are 134 such medicine bags distributed among 59 of the 66 village households.

758 Health care has greatly improved in recent years. People go to a doctor much more often than previously. A contributing stimulus is the care received by miners and their families under health insurance programs. A Western-style doctor, a Mainland army officer, started a part-time practice in a rented room in Erhlei two months before we 758 left Taiwan. Sanlei has a mid-wife responsible for most 844 births. However, in the past five years, a few women in the village have traveled to the hospital in Hsin Tien after the onset of labor, usually returning about four hours after birth. Births in a hospital are common among the woman living in Erhlei. The half-hour ride on the bouncing bus with a laboring woman is sometimes most exciting, especially if she has already given birth to several children. On more than one occasion, a woman in labor has gotten on the bus and had the baby during the one hour round trip without ever getting off.

• 262 The final factor contributing to improved health and longer life is diet. Fish and pork consumption is at

262 the highest level in history. Low-priced powdered milk
[855] is available in the village stores but only given to small children. The citrus orchards allow a large consumption of fruits in season, particularly rejects, i.e., bruised and undersized fruit. The appearance and taste may be
[178] poor but nourishment remains the same. Previously, fresh fruits were consumed only on special occasions. The village stores now sell many eggs although eggs too once were only for rare special occasions. Probably the biggest change is in the quantity and variety of fresh vegetables.
[178] The diet is greatly improved and information about vitamins and a balanced diet is filtering into the community.

Food and Diet

146 No villager goes hungry, starvation is non-existent. Even in the large cities, the people appear well fed and beggars are rarely encountered. In Sanlei, the daily calorie intake seemed adequate for healthy life. In spite of the villagers' opinions which were expressed above, it does appear that there is an imbalance in the distribution of needed items. According to the Western-style doctor at the public health station in Hsin Tien, the rural villagers in the Hsin Tien area probably have serious shortages of protein, riboflavin, calcium, and thiamin. As an investigator from America, I was most struck by the lack of milk and milk products plus the comparatively small

146 portions of meat, fish and eggs. The doctor also stated that there were probably insufficient quantities of niacin, vitamin A, and iron although not as serious as the first listed items. Finally, outside of the citrus season, there were shortages of ascorbic acid.

125 • 262 The daily pattern of eating was checked in a number of different ways. I had five cooperating households (a stratified sample) keep records of food for a month which we checked each evening. Food was richer the first few days, probably indicating a "face saving" process. A second method was to check all 66 households on a single evening for that day's consumption. Alternatively, houses were checked following a single meal. Finally, random interviews on any subject periodically noted the food being prepared or recently consumed.

262 Polished rice was the main item of the diet in about 45% of the households; a combination of rice and sweet potatoes in about 52%; and primarily sweet potatoes only in about 3%. All households eat sweet potatoes, as a kind of fried pancake, steamed, or as a type of mush. [178] According to villagers, the trend over time has been towards a greater emphasis on rice and a lesser emphasis on sweet potatoes. Rice, if available, is eaten at every 261 855 meal, hot, cold, or as hsi-fan (a thin gruel). All villagers agree that gruel should not be eaten in the morning by any man who must do hard work in the fields as it

261 is not sufficiently nourishing; also, it should be denied
855 to small children along with other liquids in the evening
252 in order to prevent bed wetting. Rice was usually steamed or boiled; it was only fried for a dish at a banquet or when mixed with left-overs for lunch.

• 262 Almost every meal also included liberal quantities of vegetables which were lightly cooked and were usually placed on top of the rice to eat. The particular vegetables were drawn from those that were in season. Although many of them were grown in the village, others were purchased in Hsin Tien. Men were asked to shop on the way
262 home from work or a trip to town. If a woman went to
443 town, she usually shopped for herself and several others.
462 One village man drove his three-wheeled bicycle cart into
[493] the Taipei market each morning about 3:30 a.m. and bought a load of vegetables and pedaled home. After he left Hsin Tien, he stopped in each small village or group of houses other than the two villages with vegetable markets and sold produce from the cart. As he got closer to Sanlei, he lowered his prices. He almost always was able to com-
262 pletely sell out the last of his load in Sanlei. Villag-
178 ers generally felt that there had not been significant changes in the absolute quantity of vegetables consumed, but there had been great changes in the variety used and that people now ate more out-of-season and fresh vegeta-
262 bles. This was probably true but it seemed to us that

262 there was an emphasis on seasonal foods to the point of monotony. For example, during the six-week period when cauliflower was lowest in price, it seemed to be part of two meals each day in almost every household in Talei Li.

443 262 264 A young man on his bicycle cart came through each evening selling a great variety of pickled and spicy vegetables which were usually served on cold rice for breakfast. On a typical evening, about half of the households in Sanlei made purchases from this traveling delicatessen. The boy said his business had more than tripled in the past six or seven years over the same territory which extended from Hsin Tien to Wulei.

443 262 231 The chu jen (pig man) as he was nicknamed, came through on a motorized cart three times each week, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday. He sold to fu (soy bean curd) for human consumption and soy bean cakes for pigs. He was a commercial pig farmer with a herd of over fifty pigs near Hsin Tien. He had another route out a different road from Hsin Tien on the other three days each week. With his large orders for soy bean, he could get a large discount, reducing his own farming expenses. It was also possible to order a piglet from him at a price lower than the Hsin Tien market. He sold about 2 pig cakes and 10 pounds of to fu each trip into Sanlei. The prices of both were a little higher than the market but he offered convenience. To fu is rich in protein and a reasonable substitute for

443 meat but the quantity eaten was not sufficient to meet the
262 protein shortages previously described. However, consump-
231 tion of to fu was higher than it would have been without his route because many purchases were made on impulse. Further, he often advised farmers with regard to the techniques of raising pigs as he was an acknowledged expert.

441 The many other different kinds of salesmen that
[203] came through the village were all tapped for gossip and information and they played an important part in the communication network. The salesmen who included Sanlei on a regular route usually lived in Hsin Tien or Taipei. Some called on the two village stores and others on villagers.
[438] They sold groceries, medicine bags, agricultural implements, cloth, etc. A more marginal group came through on a one-time basis. The latter were high-pressure types and villagers seldom had any further contact with them. Many of the salesmen were retired Mainland soldiers.

262 As an island, seafood is an important dietary item in Taiwan. Various kinds of seafood and fish soups are common items in Fukienese culinary arts. Fish, shrimp, sea slugs, octopus, and squid are all used, both fresh and dried. Yet, these items are not a daily part of any household's diet, appearing on the table about five or six times each month on the average.

Pork is the typical meat. However, even counting banquet meals, the average consumption of meat was less

262 than one-quarter of a pound per man per day. It is a rare village household that would have two meatless days in a
178 row. Some older villagers claimed that in their youth,
262 meat appeared on the table only once each week but others claimed it was more often. Any question about economic conditions in the past almost always produced mild argu-
252 ments and disagreements. Pork is cut in very small pieces and mixed with vegetables in cooking and most often, seems
262 to be used primarily for flavoring and for the fat. Vil-
826 lagers agreed that a person needed meat regularly in order to provide grease for the joints in order to prevent sore
262 muscles. It was said that beef (water buffalo or yellow
[231] oxen) was eaten in the city. However, the water buffalo was so important to the villagers that no village man could bring himself to eat it. However, when one was killed in an accident, it would be sold to a meat store. Small boys occasionally snared mountain rats which were eaten but the house rat was considered too dirty to eat.
[751] Dog meat was quite expensive and rarely eaten although everyone said that a bit of dog meat in the fall would help prevent colds all winter. No village dog could be eaten however. Fowl were also significant but only on the special occasions averaging about three to five times per month.

261 According to most Chinese, eating is one of the
252 joys of life and cooking is a well-developed art form.

273 area who drink often. Spirits were never supposed to be
272 consumed without simultaneously eating. The village
273 stores also stock soft drinks but these too tend to be
264 reserved for special occasions. Soft drinks and spirits are provided at all banquets.

262 There were two kinds of days, sharply contrasted in
264 the kinds and quantities of food: regular days and special
524 days. The special days were the religious holidays and special life crises events, i.e., marriage, engagement, funeral, certain birthdays, etc. One set of religious holidays occurred twice each month on the lunar calendar (see Chapter VIII). The other holidays were on regular dates, rarely less than at least one each month. On special days the food was rich, dinner usually including pork, fish, and fowl, whereas the diet previously described was for regular days.

264 On special days, there was a tendency for people to eat dinner together at a table. Often, eating had to be in shifts for few households had more than one table while some families were quite large (see Chapter V). Most of the time, eating is during a single time period but in a haphazard fashion. Each person gets food in the kitchen from the cook and eats at the table or perhaps, out in the
[562] courtyard. Men are supposed to eat first, but it appears
[855] that small children are usually first. While most meals are eaten at home, lunch is occasionally eaten in the

264 fields, especially if the field is quite distant or the activity is a particularly demanding one such as harvesting or transplanting. The food may be carried in a tin or may be brought to the workers by a woman or a child.

178 Everyone agrees that the diet now is the best and
• 262 richest in village history, both daily and especially for
511 the Pai Pai (religious festivals, see Chapter VIII) on special days. It is often remarked by villagers and professional economist alike that one of the first things a Chinese peasant will do with increased income is improve his diet. "Engel's Law" states that in a subsistance economy, over half of the income will be spent on food. It does seem that Sanlei figures are still close to this
262 percentage of income spent on food. It also appears that
511 the non-agricultural workers have a better and richer diet
[463] than the farmers, although their net worth is much less. The poorest diets are in households which do not include a vigorous young to middle-aged man. The only exception
262 is the rich tea processor who farms by hiring labor. The
514 poorer householders do obtain better food than their finan-
556 cial condition might warrant by the village custom of inviting guests on special days. There is no expectation that a poor man will invite a rich man to dinner. Conversely, a rich man should invite a poor man to eat. The poorer households benefit by the fact that one way a rich man earns prestige is in accordance with the number of guests he serves at a banquet.

443 local stores (20% discount) or to the nearby mine dormitories (10% less than town prices with free delivery).

Subsistence Crops

243 By this category, I refer to those items grown for
244 home consumption. A major item is sweet potatoes which can be grown on dry land in small scattered locations. Occasionally, they are planted at the end of the second crop in a paddy field but in this case, it is not possible to plant the first rice crop the following year. However, the yield is high and part of the field can be used for
• 262 the rice seedlings. Sweet potatoes are an important part
252 of the local diet, particularly in the form of a fried
231 sweet-potato pancake, steamed, or as a kind of mush. Also, both the leaves and potatoes are excellent for animal
251 fodder. Sliced in chips and dried in the sun, sweet potatoes can be readily preserved for future consumption.
244 When sweet potatoes, which take six months to mature, are planted after the second rice crop, raddish is inter-
[251] planted in a multiple cropping technique. Raddishes, which only take 60 days to mature, are dried and preserved with salt or pickled.

244 Almost every house, even those with no other agricultural activities, will have a small nearby vegetable garden. Several of the very small plots of land away from the households are also devoted to vegetables, but not any

244 great distance due to the necessity for liberal application of excrement, human and animal. Although night soil is rated higher than chemical fertilizers, farmers find
[462] using it distasteful. Application of excrement is usually by men, although women do most of the tending of vegetable gardens including planting. With rare exceptions, only sweet potatoes and bamboo shoots are ever grown far from the household.

The kinds of vegetables vary with the season, i.e.,
[443] certain weather is best for certain items. Currently,
most vegetables are available in the Hsin Tien market
[262] year around. However, village menus stress the vegetables which are maturing in the village. Even if a household is out of a certain vegetable in its own plot, if it is now in season, it will still be purchased because the price in Hsin Tien is probably very low. Important vegetables include bamboo shoots, cucumbers, green pumpkin, squash, beans, ginger, leafy vegetables, onions, leeks,
[363] and cauliflower. Soy beans are raised and many households prepare the soy sauce without which few meals are possible.

Animal Husbandry

231 Important animals for food in the village are pigs,
[235] chickens, and ducks. As previously stated, there are only three water buffalo in the village. A count of animals made on November 4, 1966 is used as a basis for the discussion of animal husbandry but variance would not be great

231 for any other period. Although detailed breakdowns vary, the total number of animals in the village was always about the same. Six of the sixty-six households have a dog and eight have cats. Cats and dogs were rarely kept in the village prior to the last ten years for villagers
235 believe pets are a sign of affluence. Three households own a total of 13 turkeys, and two others, six geese, both considered to be luxury items.

[262] Chickens are the most popular item. Fifty-seven of the sixty-six households were raising (for meat rather than eggs) a total of 421 chickens, an average of over
[443] seven each. Instead of hatching eggs, chicks are purchased from the peddler who comes through about once a
262 month or are carried in from Hsin Tien. Chickens are
574 rarely consumed as part of the regular diet. Instead, they are eaten as part of the periodic religious feasts (see Chapter IX) or on special occasions such as weddings or funerals. Since chickens eat scraps and largely fend for themselves, they cost little to raise and add significant quantities of protein to the diet for the festivals during which chickens are eaten are not infrequent or sporadic. A typical household would normally plan on having chicken
235 or duck about three or four times each month. The raising of ducks is similar to chickens but less common, 16 households owning 74 ducks. Every duck-owning household also owns chickens.

000 is trying to raise pigs for a profit.

• 262 443 One slaughtered pig is returned daily to Erhlei for local consumption. Both stores in Erhlei but neither of the stores in Sanlei sell pork although Sanlei stores do sell dried fish and canned fish or canned meat. Ignoring the few people who bring meat home from the city, one pig is sufficient daily for about 150 families. The daily consumption for a family of six (average) would rarely exceed one or one and a half chin (less than two pounds) except on special occasions.

Wood

245 313 Wood is another agricultural profit-making product that grossly falls under the rubric of agriculture because the trees are cultivated rather than natural. Tree seedlings are transplanted in December or January and then cultivated each August and weeded each January during the first five years. They then require little subsequent care. They are cut when about one or two inches in diameter for firewood for cooking. Some wood is used right after cutting although most is left to dry out first.

314 About thirty per cent is converted into charcoal by specialists in another village just down the road on the way

313 443 to Hsin Tien. There are two lumber yards there which regularly buy wood at a standard set price if it is transported to the door. The piles in the two yards can be seen from the bus window so that everyone knows when they

592 to have a male manager. This is probably related to the
[596] uncertainty and irregularity of income and the planning needed for the investments in seed, fertilizer, and insecticide before returns are achieved.

592 Although not displayed in Table 4, there is no
591 relationship between the sex of the manager and a residence pattern of matrilocal as opposed to patrilocal.[6] I felt that matrilocal households would probably have a higher incidence of female managers than patrilocal households but this was not supported (see Chapter V).

592 All money earned by household members is considered to belong to the family pool which is managed for the overall good of the household. The male head, whether or not he is the manager of the pool, is expected to have a regular personal allowance and any unmarried son or daughter who has a job and is contributing to the pool should also have a regular allowance and money should be set aside for their weddings (bride price or dowry as the case may be). Only women and children who do not work have no regular allowance.

592 There is one regular exception: married women
593 make brooms and straw hats in their spare time and the
[824] money they earn for these activities does not go into
[412] the family pool nor is anyone in the family supposed to
291 question what the woman does with this personal money. She may spend it for family treats like flavored shaved

[262]
[426]
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[888]

592 ice, she may spend it on herself by buying a luxury item
593 like a piece of jewelry, or she may just put it aside for
• [262] security in her old age and also invest it in money lend-
[426] ing clubs (see Chapter VI) or the post office. Several
454 women have accumulated quite large sums of personal money.
[888]

Although some village men have evening part-time activities that produce income, the money earned thereby is expected to go into the regular family pool. Thus, although men can more easily tap the family pool for their own wishes, only women have a source of money and retain savings which is exclusive.

Household Budgets

511 The following section contains a discussion of the yearly income and expenditures of the Liao Mou-tu family which was previously introduced as one of the wealthiest [592] in the village. Members include Liao Mou-tu, his three sons, their respective wives, and the four children of each son for a total of 19 people (see Figure 5). The figures in Table 5 are rounded for convenience and include a profit and loss statement and statement of net worth. Currently, the family has no meaningful debts.

511 The family netted about $6,500.00 for the year as
592 indicated in Table 5. Since there were four adult males,
462 the money they expended hiring farm laborers about equaled the money they earned by hiring out. The three wives in

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171

511 janitor and small repairman for a university building at
463 $1,300.00 per month. He repairs miner's caps (lights) in
465 the evening in his spare time for two of the mines and
nets about $200.00 per month and also works about 3 to 4
days per month as a farm laborer at a daily rate of $50.00.
His wife works periodically picking tea or weeding and
subject to seasonal variation, earns about $2,500.00 per
year. His mother earns another $2,000.00 yearly as a
[434] mid-wife. The total yearly income is about $24,600.00.

511
[244] The family is renting a house and houseland up the
hill at one end of the village which has some nearby land
on which the family raises sweet potatoes and vegetables
[262] for personal consumption. Sweet potatoes are an important
part of their daily diet but usually in conjunction with
[235] rice. They also raise several chickens (about 15 at a
time) and eat some and trade others.

Monthly expenses just about match monthly income.
[406] Liao Kao-mu's job provides an excellent health insurance
[745] plan for the entire family which eliminates medical ex-
penses. The family's future plans are to continue his job
which is reasonably secure and features periodic raises and
a yearly bonus. The mountain field mortgage is now over
80% discharged and in another year will be in full pro-
duction. As soon as it is free and clear, he plans to
purchase another piece of mountain land and has already

511 and two nearly-helpless old people are all dependent on
736 the labor of two mature adults, one of whom must spend a major portion of her time in nurturing activities.

511 The family diet is fairly rich and Lin An-hwei
[262] shares a bottle of beer each evening with another village
[273] Mainlander. Since the bottles are big, they take turns
[435] buying one but the cost to Lin's family still exceeds $250.00 per month. Before the recent medical expenses put them so far in debt, the family was doing quite well finan-
[525] cially but was not investing in land or business. They ate well and Lin gambled once a month with five Mainlanders who lived in the area and he also bought many lottery tickets. His gambling and participation in the lotteries have ceased but he continues to drink.

[888] The expensive medical treatments have been given up as part of the immediate plans of waiting for the old ones to die. After paying for their burial expenses, there are no further plans other than discharging the family debts.

511 The final contrast is with members of the lowest
621 class group in the community in terms of economics al-
565 though the village class structure is not sharply demarcated. Villagers will usually claim that everyone is nearly the same in the village but when pressed, will point out a few families who are somewhat richer than average and several families which are very poor but usually

Interpersonal Relations and "Face"

626 571 558 There is seldom a "face to face" confrontation where someone directly informs another he has done wrong or is a bad man. Instead, there is considerable gossip [262] so that a criticism soon trickles back to the accused. A villager took a turtle-dough cake home from a religious festival and incurred an obligation to return a larger cake the next year which he failed to accomplish. The temple committee members told many people about the failure but would not confront the transgressor in person. The committee posted two lists on the temple bulletin board, one specifying those who had taken home turtle-dough cakes and the other, those who had returned cakes the next year. Although a cursory comparison of the two lists would quickly reveal any violators, the committee claimed they just could not post a list which separately listed those who had refused to return turtle-dough cakes. This concept of "face" with a requirement for both avoiding giving offense and helping others to avoid giving offense does minimize the occurrence of conflict by discouraging the open expression of differences or criticisms.

558 571 576 "Face" does seriously hamper interpersonal relations on another level in spite of its employment in promoting harmony. It is necessary that one does not give offense and it is equally necessary that one helps

618 or tenth, they do share the first. Given sufficient depth of generations and the fact that there can be a wide age spread between the youngest and oldest individuals in a single generation, there is little relationship between genealogical generation and physical age. For example, one of our assistants in his twenties found a man with the same surname in a nearby village. Although the villager was over seventy, he was numbered three generations later. They both read a newspaper which was delivered all over Taiwan and carried news items devoted to the activities of people with their surname. They considered themselves distant clan relatives (ch'in t'ang) and the old man, with a smile, referred to our young assistant as great uncle. Even within shallow-depth American families, a man will occasionally be older than his own uncle.

All of the men in Sanlei surnamed Liao considered themselves to be ch'in t'ang. The Liao group which founded Sanlei all came from the same village in Chuan Chou, Fukien and other Liao migrated later, some from the same village and some from communities in the same county but not in the same village area. For one larger group of Liao, descent was demonstrated but for the balance, descent was merely stipulated.

• [262] One area difficult to classify according to the above scheme is due to the fact that several generations after the establishment of the Liao name an event occurred,

618 the result of which caused one Liao to pledge for himself
• [262] and his descendants never to eat the head of the chicken. Thus, the Liao in Sanlei are divided into two subdivisions neither of which can trace actual descent: "those who eat" and "those who do not eat" chicken heads. Those who do not eat chicken heads regard themselves as closer relatives than those who do, for obviously they must share an ancestor more recent in genealogical depth than the original founder. In spite of this shared genealogical relative who was nearer than the founder, descent is still not really demonstrated. A Liao usually called both kinds of Liao ch'in t'ang and distinguished the two subdivisions by means of reference to eating or not eating chicken heads. There is no similar "in-group" feeling for those who eat chicken heads, a local delicacy.

602 538 551 The second area difficult to classify revolves around another kind of question as to whether or not descent is truly demonstrated. Sometimes a significant individual will compose or commission a poem to be written. He gives his children the first word of the poem as a middle name; grandchildren, the second, etc. The poem may continue to be followed or be abandoned by some or all lines of descent. If two people have the same surname and the same middle name, they compare father's, grandfather's, etc., middle names and if identity is established, they assume they have a common ancestor, i.e., the poem writer

844 the mother. The afterbirth is usually buried in or next to
[111] the river but many villagers preserve the umbilical cord for
846 good luck. Nursing will commence within one to three days,
853 as soon as lactation commences, and to aid its beginning, the breast is periodically massaged. Before the first suckle, the nipples are washed with rice porridge and green onions.

846 In Sanlei Ts'un, the mother will now have one month
[262] for recuperation, tso yueh. It starts soon after birth with rich foods such as eggs in sesame oil with wine and heavily sweetened orange peel soup and the rest of the month her food is unusually rich with great emphasis on chicken. During this month, she does few of her regular chores and is confined to the house where she can neither bathe nor use salt. Other women in the family do the work; the two most likely aides are mother-in-law and mother. Neighbors often assist as for example, the daily wash is usually done by the group with whom the new mother normally washes in Sanlei. Having a boy is considered much more exhausting than having a girl and therefore, less will be expected of the mother of a boy.

851 Three days after birth, the fact is reported to the family ancestors by an older female member of the family and the natal home of the mother will be notified, if they have not yet heard. For some girls who were adopted and later married out, both natal and adopted families will be advised. Gifts may be sent back.

796 and parties, and the visitation of many guests from outside
[796] the village area. Although legend claims that Matsu had special powers over boats and weather and special relationships with fishermen, today her powers are considered to be
[782] most general. Village women now make special worship of-
[84] ferings to her with reference to pregnancy, childbirth, and the care of children.

[801] There are special meanings connected with many repeated words in the Chinese language.[6] For holidays, the day of the month which is the same number as the month itself has special powers. The next festival of importance in the village is of this type, the Dragon Boat Festival, which occurs on the fifth day of the fifth month and is often called the Double Fifth. In addition to the usual activities, there is a special food, glutinous rice wrapped in a leaf, and doors are decorated with branches and leaves.
[262] [515] An afternoon bath[7] is supposed to help keep one healthy for the entire next year. There are boat races in town as part of the festival but only a few unmarried young people from the village go to observe them.

796 769 795 On the fifteenth day of the seventh month is Chung Yuan (Festival of the Hungry Ghosts) especially set aside for the worship of the Hao Hsiung-ti (Good Brothers, an euphemism for unworshipped ancestors) although some worship of the Good Brothers occurs periodically all during the year. All ancestors are worshipped, both the personal

the li school teachers. In spite of the fact that moon cakes and the festival are yin, some moon cakes are sacrificed to T'u Ti Kung who is a male and therefore yang.

The second of the double number festivals is the Double Ninth, the ninth day of the ninth month. Since this is a yang holiday, the counterpart of the above for the yang or male part of the yin-yang,[8] it is often also termed the Double Yang. On Double Ninth, men like to have many guests for dinner with a tendency to prefer male guests only, so many of the Sworn Brother Associations schedule one of their regular yearly banquets. Young people in the area climb to the top of the small surrounding mountains (foothills might be more descriptive) and try to run all the way down without falling. Since this is difficult, the sight of the clumsy falls provokes much laughter in the village.

Tung Chieh (Winter Solstice) falls during the eleventh month, the day varying with the calendar cycles. Once again, there are the typical sacrifices and worship plus a special food, winter dumplings. In Sanlei, the farmers sacrifice dumplings all over the village, leaving some out in the fields and attaching some to each of the pig pens. Most farmers worship also at the temple of T'u Ti Kung.

The New Year festivities commence on the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month with a ceremony to send off the gods. Earthly gods ascend to heaven to report and will not

512 [871] vacation period for the school alone marks significant changes in the patterns of behavior. Perhaps unexpectedly, mothers have more free time or at least more time to work in the fields during the school vacation periods because older children are available to care for their younger siblings. In spite of these problems, I will attempt a description of a "normal" day which might be described by a villager as a day when nothing much happened.

Midnight marks the beginning of the day. The village [354] is very quiet as no one appears to be awake. In almost all village houses, a single low-wattage bulb is burning in the kung t'ing or kitchen. Through the night, few people will [514] be seen. Four or five men may go outside to eliminate but most people use a chamber pot in the bedroom or kitchen if [625] it is necessary. During the New Year season or after a robbery, two men of the I Ching carrying sticks very quietly walk through the village every half hour. Periodically, their muted voices may be heard together with the other two men on the patrol and the female who prepares the tea and noodles in her kitchen. The village is quite dark since the bulbs emit but little light and the surrounding countryside is even darker, punctuated here and there with the scattered glows of light in surrounding villages.

[443] [515] [262] The first man to arise is the vegetable peddler at 3:30 a.m. After a quick wash with cold water in the kitchen and a meal of cold rice covered with pickles and spicy fish,

512
[518] he peddles off in his three-wheeled cart alone for the city
[262] to arrive in the market by 5:15 a.m. About 4:00 a.m. the
[443]
[782] second man in the village is up and quickly heads for the temple carrying incense sticks and flowers for worship in fulfillment of a pledge to the gods for relieving his prostrate trouble. The noise he makes starts others stirring.
[514] As people rise, they usually head for the outhouse and then
[515] into the courtyard or kitchen to wash. The wash water is at air temperature and therefore, often chilly in the cool morning at dawn's light.

[296] By 4:30 a.m., the first group of six women is off to
[264] the river to wash clothes together. They have eaten a handful of cold rice and will prepare and eat breakfast after they return about an hour later. By the end of the next
[264] hour, there are few silent households. The active married women are up first and after ablutions, start the fire for breakfast although about one of five families will have a cold meal. Women are followed by the children, awakened by the noise in the kitchen. Few people are ever formally called and told it is time to get up. The active mature men are last to arise except for the occasional old person who may sleep until very late.

512
782 Before breakfast, a representative for each household worships in the kung t'ing with incense sticks. This is supposed to be the oldest male in the household but it appears that women perform the task about half the time. Although

512 Until lunch-time, the village is relatively quiet. The only people to be found are the babies and small children, half the children in the first four grades, a few young unmarried females, old people, and the mothers who are not working in the fields, most of them with small [857] children to tend. The children are playing but seldom stray far from home. Some women are off to do their washing for very few women leave it until the afternoon. Two work teams of older women are busy sorting tea, a few small children playing on the ground beside them.

[494] Every hour or so the public bus rambles through the village to the end of the line and back. After the first couple runs, about two to five people will get on and the [443] same number get off on each passage. All during the day a few women will be going to Hsin Tien to shop. Skipping one return trip allows a woman a full hour for the market, sufficient time to buy for herself and three or four others as [494] is usual. Also, the Communication Bureau bus periodically passes through the village as well as an occasional truck, empty on its way through, brimming over with coal on its [857] return. Children collect the coal spillover from the roadside for the kitchen.

512 By 11:30 almost everyone is home for lunch. Only
264 when working on rice harvesting and planting or when working in fields far up in the mountains do people carry a lunch [262] like the miners in a flat tin can. Lunch is invariably hot,

usually including a soup accompanied by rice or sweet potatoes and vegetables. Lunch is eaten in a manner similar to breakfast, individually in scattered locations. In the hot weather with its longer days, most field workers have a nap after lunch but in the winter with short days, the workers return to the fields within an hour. The school children have an hour for lunch and in the afternoon, the other half of the first four graders attend.

The afternoon period is similar to the morning. Most women have their washing completed now and there is more visiting and more time for cooperative shared tasks such as grinding rice or preparing soy sauce. About two times per week, a group of women go into Hsin Tien to a movie. However, the groups vary so that no one sees a movie more often than once a month or so. By 4:00 the children are home from school. They have few tasks other than feeding the farm animals. Many women turn over the care of the small children to the older students so they can go to the mountains for a load of wood. The temple caretaker has cleaned the temple and is busy now chasing children out who are running and making too much noise.

There have been a few more people in the village than the above might suggest. Since fields are scattered, some men pass through the village on their way from one task site to another. A man hauling dry wood from the mountain will make six or seven stops during the day. The